

# The Truth, nothing but the Truth

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WILL YOU HELP US?

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"LE DEVOIR" PRINTING  
MONTREAL

1915



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Montreal, March 1915.

Dear Sir,

If, after having perused carefully this booklet sent you to give a true and impartial view of the Separate and Bilingual School question in Ontario, you find that you can support us in our request, I would be very much obliged to you to return me the enclosed letter, with your name and address.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I remain,  
dear Sir,

Yours truly,

CHARLES LANGLOIS.

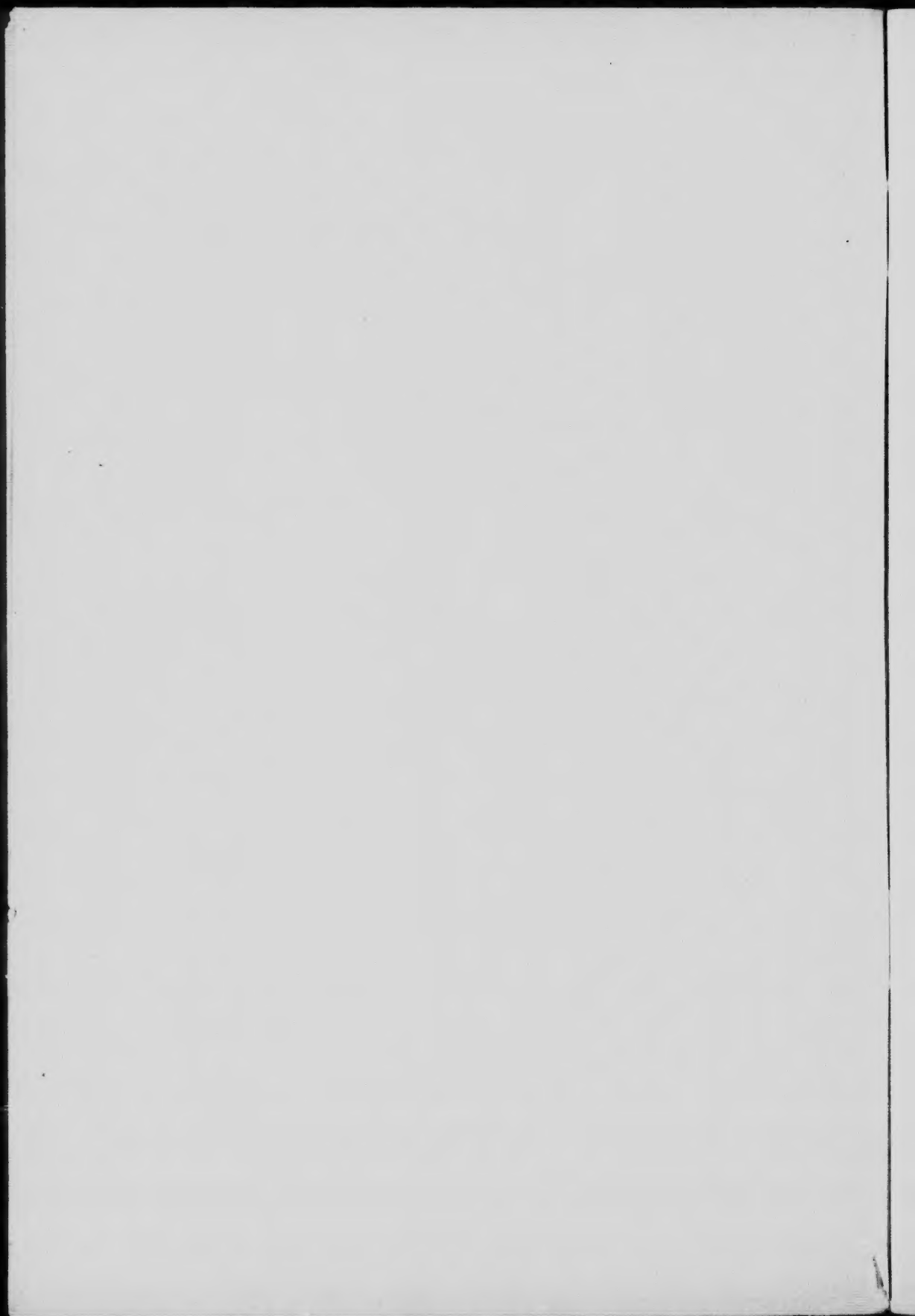
241, St. Paul Street, Montreal.



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## Official Statements

We quote here, under the headlines: "What the French-Canadians do not want" and "What the French-Canadians do want", two official statements issued by *L'Association Canadienne-Française d'Education d'Ontario*, signed by Mr. A. T. Charon, President, and Alex. Grenon, Secretary.

They have appeared in *Le Droit*, Ottawa, on February the 16th and the 20th, 1915. We translate them from the French.

### What the French-Canadians do not Want

1o The French-Canadians of Ontario do not want any exclusively French schools.

2o They do not want to compel English-speaking children, or others, to study the French language.

3o They do not want the establishment of a third school system in Ontario.

4o They do not want to drive out anybody from the Province. They pay for each and every inch of land they acquire.

5o They do not want to submit to the confiscation of the school subsidies that they have endured during the last three years simply because they ask that their children be taught the two official languages of the Dominion.

### What the French-Canadians do Want

1o The respect of their rights in the education of their children in schools that are maintained with their money.

2o An efficient teaching of the two official languages of the Dominion, during all the primary course in schools or classes frequented by their children.

3o That their children be taught through the natural medium: the maternal language.

4o That the children whose parents are wanting them to learn the two official languages of this Dominion be grouped by schools or classes.

5o Schoolmasters capable of teaching the two official languages of Canada to take charge of the schools or classes frequented by the children whose parents want them to learn English and French.

6o Their share of the subsidies annually voted by the Legislative Assembly.

7o A sole-inspection, Catholic and French-English, of the Separate schools frequented by their children.

8o A sole inspection, French-English, of the public schools frequented by their children.

9 The granting of diplomas to the bi-lingual teachers of both sexes who have successfully passed the examination required by the Department of Public Education.

## **What the French-Canadians Are Fighting For**

**by THOMAS O'HAGAN**

*(Reproduced from Le Devoir of January 21st and 22nd, 1915)*

It seems to me that the racial cleavage between the English and French speaking peoples of Canada, which if justice were meted out all around should not exist at all, is becoming very much accentuated during the past few years. Why is this? Because in my opinion the simplest elementary justice in the matter of education is being denied the French-Canadian minority in the Province of Ontario. This French-Canadian minority have asked for a right, with respect to the study of their language in the schools which they support with their own money, that is not only conceded in every civilized country of the world but is primarily a right belonging to the parent and not a concession of the State.

We hear judges on the bench declaring that natural rights must sometimes give way to legal rights. Not so unless the parties enjoying this natural right have failed in their obligations or the fulfillment of their duties. Should they fail to do their duty, then and only then, can the State step in. Speaking in a general way, interference with a natural right may be regarded as tyranny on the part of the State and the judgment of the world registers it as such as witness the judgment of history on the part that has been played by Germany in its attempt during the past half century to crush out the French language in Alsace and Lorraine and the Polish language in Prussian Poland.

Shall we, I ask, here in Ontario imitate this tyranny which has made the word Prussian a synonym now the world over of arrogance and brutality? It seems indeed from the educational ukases issued at Toronto that we are in a fair way of doing this.

### **Ontario and Alsace**

But I have forgotten. However Draconian may be the educational regulations in Alsace they bear on their face more liberality and justice than do the Bilingual Regulations in Ontario. This cannot be questioned because I have the educational regulations of Ontario and the educational regulations of Alsace before me as I write.

By the way it is in this connection interesting to note that our educational wisecracks at Toronto, Hon. Dr. Pyne, Dr. John Seath and their fanatical organs which screech like peacocks whenever the words bilingual school are mentioned, are fond of referring to our neighboring republic the United States as a country where only one language, the English language, is permitted to be taught in the public schools. As a matter of fact this

is by no means true. Besides, the conditions and the situation are not at all the same in Canada and the United States.

Suppose for instance that thirty million of the one hundred million today in the United States spoke French, were nurtured with French traditions, had a body of literature as rich, nay richer, than that produced by a Parkman, a Prescott, a Longfellow, a Poe, a Hawthorne and an Irving, drew their intellectual strength not from Shakespeare, Milton and Thompson but from Molière, Fénelon, Hugo and Lamartine and had their language recognized as official by solemn pact and treaty, think you that the American people would be so unjust, so absurd as to attempt to crush out the study and extension of the French language by such regulations as have been passed recently here in Ontario? Not a bit of it. Besides let it not be forgotten that down in Louisiana a decree in the Constitution of 1879 and confirmed and approved of in the Constitution of 1898 permits the French language to be taught in the public schools of that state and in the High Schools of Louisiana, outside of New Orleans, French is the only modern language including of course English that is taken up for study.

But where bigotry and prejudice obsess the mind as is the case here in Ontario precedent and example and citation are of no avail. You cannot reason with the robber who has made up his mind to have your pocketbook, no more than you can reason with the fanatic who feels that God has handed your soul and your intellect and your rights and your liberty into his judgment and keeping.

### **"The School Inspectors . . . Have Condemned the Regulations"**

Let me say here that I know something of the educational systems of both Europe and America and I have not yet met with in the educational history of any country anything at once so narrow, devoid of the wisdom of pedagogy and common sense, so brutally unjust as the school enactment in this Province aimed against the study and extension of the French language. Why, for the French-Canadians of Ontario to tamely submit to such regulations they would require to be less than men or greater than angels. Even the very School Inspectors of the Education Department — "English revising Inspectors" (God save the mark!) servants of the Government, have condemned the regulations. But you know the Orange threat was too strong and the fact that thirty-five members of the Ontario Legislature supporters of the Government of Hearst, Pyne & Co. belong to the lodges make it impossible that the pleadings of justice for the French-Canadian minority should be listened to. Even the late Sir James Whitney in many respects a large minded and fair man had to yield on the eve of the last Ontario election to the fanatical clamor of this Twelfth of July brigade.

What is the result of this? It is twofold. A racial bitterness has been engendered between the English and French of this Province — nay more it has extended quite beyond the bounds of Ontario. Fair minded-English non-Catholics fully realize that this prejudice against the French-Canadians has been fanned during the past few years and many of the most intelligent amongst them privately and publicly condemn this unhallowed and unpatriotic crusade launched against our French-Canadian fellow countrymen here in Ontario.

### What Mr. Wilkie said

Here is what Mr. George Wilkie, B.A., a leading Toronto lawyer and a former President of the Canadian Club of that City, said of the French-Canadians at a Canadian Club luncheon in Toronto last April:

"It seems to me if we are to work out our great destiny in this last and best piece of land fit for the habitation of white men we can do so only on great principles, principles of fairness and justice to the East and to the West, of fairness and justice to the English-speaking man, and of fairness and justice to the French-speaking man.

*I want further to present to you a most striking fact which is that we are not always fair, not always just, perhaps not always honest in dealing with those who speak another language, but who are nevertheless just as good Canadians as we notwithstanding that they speak a different tongue than we do, who were Canadians indeed before we were, for their history stretches back to the earliest history of this continent. If I were a Frenchman or French were my mother tongue I should glory in that history just as they do; and if my native tongue was the French tongue with all its glory of French literature, drama and history, I should glory in that tongue as they do. AND I SYMPATHIZE WITH THEM TO THE FULL WHEN THEY WANT TO PRESERVE, AS MUCH AS THEY CAN, ALL THESE THINGS WHICH THEY HAVE INHERITED FROM THEIR GLORIOUS ANCESTRY".*

But our educational wiseacres at Toronto, "specialist" makers in French who are wiser than the greatest savants of Europe and who carry around "syntax" exceptions in their hip-pockets, do not look at things as Mr. Wilkie does. They want to put the little French-Canadian children through a machine and turn them out Anglo-Saxons.

Mr. Wilkie says that we English-speaking people are not honest in our treatment of the French-Canadians. He is quite right. But you see with our educational wiseacres at Toronto honesty is a relative term. Let us for a moment here take a look at their honesty — peep behind the educational curtains at Toronto where Dr. Pyne and Dr. Seath are compounding their pills. You will notice that the inspector, English inspector of these French Schools or rather schools where the majority of

the ratepayers are French, no doubt doing this at the suggestion of his master who put his collar on in the Education Department, usually gives instructions to the trustees of such schools to advertize for a second-class teacher, knowing full well that there is no Training School in this Province to give professional training to bilingual teachers seeking a second-class certificate and that the qualified applicants capable of teaching English and French will be few if any and the English applicant must be *engaged to fulfill the Regulations of the Education Department.*

Now I ask here: Is this honest, is this fair, is this just? Three or four little portable bilingual mills have been established at points in the Province but these cannot issue professional second-class certificates and at the head of these in some instances are English-speaking non-Catholics. Fancy the English minority in Quebec subjected to this kind of treatment.

Recently, when the school case in Lancaster township near Cornwall was being tried in appeal before Justice Meredith in Toronto, some interesting things came to pass. Justice Meredith asked Mr. Belcourt, who had charge of the case for the French, how he would decide in what language the child should receive its instruction in school in case the child's mother was French and the father Scotch. I will just here answer Justice Meredith's question and say that this is a question to be settled not by the courts nor by the Educational Department but by the parents. Here Justice Meredith strikes the very kernel of the whole question where natural rights or if you will parental rights rather than legal rights or state rights should prevail. Moreover I will cite for Justice Meredith three countries where the question of which language is to be used in instruction is left to the parents and there is little fear where these parents are of different races or tongues but that they can fix upon the most useful and necessary language for their child without any appeal to a suffragette court.

### Belgium, Malta and South-Africa

The world has been ringing for some months with the patriotism of the Belgians. Well they are bilingual, speaking French and Flemish, and the fact that they do so does not seem to have interfered with their fighting in the trenches.

The school regulation in Belgium is:

"In all the communal schools the maternal language shall be the vehicle of instruction throughout the different grades of teaching and this maternal language shall be determined by the head of the family." Now as the suffragettes are day by day gaining in power, Justice Meredith will, I am sure, with great gallantry, concede to this French-Canadian mother a say in the matter.

Next, I turn to South Africa and I find that the Statesman's year Book for 1913 tells us with respect to the administration of Education there.

"In regard to the question of language the medium of instruction up to and including the Fourth Class is the home language of the pupil but parents may request that the second language be gradually introduced as a medium".

Again the question is referred to the parents. You see, that even in "Darkest Africa", they do things better than we do in Ontario. But Orange Lodges have not yet found their way into Africa.

The third country which I will cite for Justice Meredith is the Island of Malta. In that quaint and historic little island, the Stateman's Year Book for 1913 tells us regarding education:

"Italian continues to be the official language of the courts, but parents have the right to decide whether their children shall learn English or Italian at school". Again the matter is referred to the parents. I may say that I visited the Island of Malta in the spring of 1913 and I could not discover, even with the aid of a microscope, any vestige of an Orange Lodge.

Now why do I cite all these cases? Simply to show that only in Orange bedevilled Ontario does such a narrow vision — such a narrow view obtain as to the rights of the minority in the matter of education. But in truth, we need not go to these distant countries to contrast their liberality with the tyranny to which the minority French-Canadian and Catholic are subjected in this Province. Down by the sea in Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, even in Manitoba, the fullest opportunity is accorded the French-Canadian children to acquire a good knowledge of their mother tongue. Here in Ontario, in certain quarters, there is an insane hatred of everything French. You think this is an exaggeration. Not a bit of it. Did you sit for two hours in an Orange meeting as I have listening to the gross misrepresentation of the French-Canadians with religious fanaticism emphasizing their tirades you would know and understand better the motive behind the whole movement. But you will say perhaps that these Orange fanatics do not represent the public mind of Ontario. Well they represent it just so far that they have poisoned the public mind here in Ontario and rendered justice impossible.

### **"British Fair Play"**

We talk about British fair play. This expression has, I confess, some meaning in England, but with the conditions that obtain here now educationally in Ontario the expression has no meaning. Why a large number of Canadian journals of both political parties absolutely refuse to give the French-Canadian minority or their advocates a hearing through their columns. Is that British fair play? But what many of the journals will do and have done is to twist and garble to their own advantage any statement made in defence of the educational rights of the French-Canadian minority.

In connection with the French language, nothing more

amusing has happened in this Province than the recent organization of night schools in Toronto for the purpose of teaching French to the Canadian officers who are going to the front. Our loyal brothers at Toronto have suddenly discovered that French as a language is valuable. Now if a smattering of French is valuable for a Canadian officer in the trenches with a rifle in his hand, should not a thorough knowledge of French be valuable for the French Canadian boy or girl whose mentality is French, whose genius is French, whose home is French and the nurture of whose mind and soul must come through the wealth of French thought expressed in all the beauty of French literature?

Is it nothing, think you, as the late Hon David Mills once said in the Canadian House of Commons, that the mighty dead — the Molières, the Racines, the Lamartines, the Fénétons, the Sainte-Beuves, the Brunetières—are camping around the French Canadian people? Do you think you educational wiseacres of Toronto in your petty tyranny that you can by educational regulations erase from the minds and souls of these French Canadian people the glorious memory of their ancestors? Do you think that these descendants of the founders of Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg, sons of Jacques Cartier, Champlain and La Salle, men and women with the heritage of three centuries of courage and faith in their blood are suddenly going to set up another intellectual and spiritual altar at your bidding?

### **"I should be Sorry to see Them do so"**

For me, I should be sorry to see them do so. The French Canadians have the most glorious ancestry on this continent, for it is an ancestry which has peopled Heaven with saints and martyrs and made possible our glorious Dominion. No, let there be the fullest play of action in this great and growing country of ours irrespective of race or creed. Let us bring out in our national life what is strong in the Anglo-Saxon, beautiful in the French, tender in the Celt, rugged in the German, well-poised in the Scotch and let time ever impartial be the arbiter of language, our happy task being to study and speak as many languages as possible and envy those who possess the greater gift of tongues.

The fact is that if we in Ontario have any marked weakness — any marked fault, it is that we are entirely too self satisfied and complacent. We assume the role of instructor towards our French Canadian brothers, when we should be studying them and gaining knowledge.

Let me here explain what I mean. It is a well known fact that the people of Ontario are very poor linguists. Though situated close to Quebec with many French people as our neighbors, not one in fifty thousand of us can speak a word of French. European scholars would call us narrow and ignorant. In fact, mark you, we are very critical. Without knowing a word of French, we declare that the French of Quebec is a patois and



we hold that the pronounciation of the French language down there is very bad. How would we like if the French of Quebec would return the compliment and declare in something louder than a whisper that we in Ontario speak very bad English, and that our pronounciation is horrible when compared with that of the people of Dublin, Ireland, or Inverness, Scotland. The French of Quebec would be much more justified in this judgment than are Ontario people in their criticism of the French language of Quebec, because the great body of the French of Quebec understand English and many speak it as well as they do their own maternal tongue, while here, in Ontario, the people know absolutely nothing about French.

### **"A Species of Prussian Tyranny"**

If it be true, as the *Toronto Mail Empire* said a few days ago, that the difference between the German ideal of government and the British ideal of government, is that in Germany the citizen is made or led to believe that the purpose of his life and citizenship is to subordinate himself entirely to the welfare of the State, while in Great Britain, the citizen feels and believes that the State was created for his aid and protection, why invert this British ideal here, in Ontario, and trampling on the educational rights of the French Canadian minority establish a species of Prussian tyranny abhorrent in every sense, to every true Canadian who loves justice and British fair play.

Furthermore there is not a Statesman in Canada who will or can defend the educational conditions now existing in this Province. One would think too by the way some English people talk, that the French Canadians aimed at imposing their language upon the English speaking people. Nothing could be further from their minds. If this were their purpose why should the French Canadians everywhere set themselves so assiduously to the study and acquirement of English? As Mr. J.-C. Walsh recently pointed out, there are one hundred French Canadians in the French City of Montreal who speak English and speak it well for one English person who can speak French.

Look at our public men — our professional men, our representative Canadians on the bench and in Parliament. Take your Lauriers, your Bourassas, your Mageaus, your Belcourts, your Poiriers, they all speak English with a fluency and elegance that sometimes quite surpass our most gifted English speakers. Why should we, English-speaking Canadians, be blind to this fact? Do we not see that we are behind in the race—handicapped because of our own narrowness and prejudice?

A few weeks ago Sir Wilfrid Laurier adressed the Women's Canadian Club of Quebec at the Chateau Frontenac, and he had this to say of the French Canadians and the French language:

"The French Canadians wish to speak the language of their ancestors which recalls the most intimate and most sacred recollections. The desire is so noble and so sacred that it is not



astonishing that it is disputed, but if it is disputed in certain places, it is because this desire is not understood. Those who combat it think that the ultimate ambition of the French Canadians is to impose their language on those of other tongues. This has never been the idea of the French Canadians. They do not wish to dominate no more than they wish to be dominated. They simply want equal justice for all. If they want to speak their own tongue, they realize that they must speak English also."

### **"Not a Tittle of Evidence"**

No, the truth is that there is not a tittle of evidence to show that the French want to impose their language on the English-speaking people of this country. But they simply ask for justice and believe me they will take nothing else. This fire fanned by prejudice and fanaticism in Ontario if it be not quenched by the wisdom, sense of justice, broad-mindedness and tolerance of the people of this Province will sooner or later spread into a flame that will destroy forever that harmony, peace and fair name which we so dearly and jealously covet for our native land.

Now, what do the French Canadians in Ontario seek, for what are they banding themselves together and what are they fighting for? Simply for the right to study and speak in their schools supported by their money, the language of their firesides, the language they have lisped on their mother's knee, the language which incarnates the soul of their kindred, the language which adown the centuries is sweet with the breath and aroma of memories that bring to the heart the joyance of happy tears, the language that exalts, inspires and fills their souls with the reverence and faith and heroism that shine as stars in the temples of their race, and this they ask to enjoy with no thought of the dominance of French above English, with no hope to isolate or subject any other race, simply that they may be true to the faith and heritage of their fathers.

### **"Just Apply the Regulations..."**

But no educator having a knowledge of the educational conditions of Ontario to-day would dare say that French Canadian children are not handicapped in their desire to gain a good knowledge of their mother's tongue by the bilingual regulations in force. Just apply these regulations to the English minority in Quebec and see how long it would be endured. Very well then the French Canadian minority of this Province will take or accept nothing less in the matter of educational justice than is meted out to the English non-Catholic minority of Quebec and if the word bilingual used to French-English schools here in Ontario be to the people of Ontario as is a red rag to a bull, why, substitute for it the word French school which will be the exact equivalent of English school in Quebec. This fight is like the

war between the Germans and the Allies. If our Ontario Kaiser so desires, it must be fought to a finish.

Now what is my advice to the French Canadians in every part of Canada? It is to organize and reveal their strength. Carry the question to the Privy Council if needs be and if you should fail there — which in my opinion is doubtful — carry the struggle still on. Do not yield a single trench to the enemy. Men with personal motives actuated by personal interest — English, Irish, Scotch yea, even those of your own household will occasionally reveal themselves as your enemies, but heed not for justice, the integrity of your race, the preservation of your national entity and loyalty to the noblest of your traditions demand that you should remain in the trenches till the last gun is fired.

And believe me, thousands of Canadians of English, Irish and Scotch origin will applaud your wisdom and patriotism and tenacity, and will at the end set the seal of their approbation upon your noble and patriotic work.

THOMAS O'HAGAN.

(Windsor, Ont.)

## **Bilingualism Accepted in the Whole Empire — Ontario Excepted**

by **ROBERT F. PHALEN**

North Sydney, N.S., Feb., 3-15

Editor *Droit*,

Sir,

It is a well-recognized and settled principle of legislation, that he who proposes to take away or to diminish, by law, any right or any liberty or privilege theretofore enjoyed, whether by a people, a class of the people, or by even an individual, ought to be prepared to justify it before the legislature and before the people. To ask the class or the person whose position is to be affected by the proposed change to prove absolutely that the new law is unjust, is to depart widely from sound British principles of government. It is the innovator who must make out his case and the normal attitude, and the reasonable one, is, to reject the clause until its necessity and its practice are made clear. Of course it is the favorite trick of this disputant to seek to put the burden of proof where it does not belong. And this trick of controversy has been extensively practiced in the discussion now going on as to the bilingual schools of Ontario.

Starting on with the elementary principle above mentioned, may I ask whether anything substantial and sound has been advanced in justification of Regulation XVII, as amended? The

average editorial comment in Ontario, in favor of the regulation, amounts to this — that Ontario is an English province, and that no second language has any place in the public education of Ontario children. This is, indeed, a broad contention. It is so broad that, if it prevailed elsewhere in the Empire, it would at once eliminate the public schools systems of Wales, United South-Africa, Scotland, Ireland, Malta and India. These systems, however, represent the best thought and ripest wisdom of noted educationalists and the best statesmen we have in the Empire; and the Empire is indeed fortunate that the average Ontario educational wisdom does not find acceptance outside Ontario.

The next shibboleth is "efficiency"; efficiency according to the popular Ontario definition which means one language. Efficiency and one language seem to be synonymous in the minds of the champions of Regulation XVII.

But Wales is as efficient as Ontario; and she has had two languages in her schools for 650 years and has had them under government supervisors and at the expense of the State ever since State Schools were established; and in our days Welsh has acquired a larger and larger place, from year to year, in her schools; and they are now thoroughly bilingual. Is Wales of less importance to this Empire than Ontario? She is of more importance. Yet, a million of her people speak Welsh; and 250,000, a number equal to the French Canadian population of Ontario, *speak nothing else but Welsh*. (See Report Imperial Education Conference, London, 1911, appendice, discussion on bilingualism, speeches of chief inspector Edwards and Mr. Davies).

The same report may be consulted as to Scotland; of which I shall have more to say in a moment.

"Efficiency", therefore, will not do. But, then, we are told there are difficulties of administration; scarcity of bilingual teachers, etc. But it has been in no way shown that such administrative difficulties cannot be met by administrative methods and reforms. It is improbable, on the face of it, that such local difficulties necessitate the abolition of a system, and account for the withdrawal of educational privileges which have been enjoyed for generations past. Why not the Ontario authorities try some such methods, — methods based on broad-minded principles, — as are outlined in Dr. Viljoen's speech at the Imperial Education Conference; methods adopted unanimously in United South Africa; in which new Dominion will be the latest triumph of real British liberty, the finite of British experience with many races and many languages?

But, the defences of Regulation XVII, inadequate as they are, have come only after the event, not before; the actual issuing of the most unfair regulation was supposed to have been based on Dr. Merchant's Report; but Dr. Merchant's Report presents no case for such a sweeping alteration of the existing

state of things; and no one seems willing or able to take that report in his hand and make from it an ordered argument for the regulation. That Dr. Merchant's Report necessitated some changes of administrative methods may be quite true.

No one would have been surprised if, for instance, that report had been followed by legislation looking to greater working efficiency in the bilingual schools. One year before Dr Merchant made his report, Dr Viljoen, superintendent of Education in the Orange Free State, had placed before the Imperial Education Conference at London, in some considerable detail, the means just then adopted unanimously by the first parliament of the United South Africa, for securing an adequate supply of bilingual teachers.

That report, of course, was in the Education Department at Toronto before Dr Merchant's report came in. But it does seem, sometimes, as though Ontario were resolved to ignore altogether the experience of all the Empire outside its own boundaries. And, therefore, before a starved and hampered bilingual system, which had been administered in a stingy and grudging manner by themselves, had been found, by their own agent, partially inadequate, they determine to abolish it. We repeat that even Dr Merchant's report shows only partial inadequacy; and taking it as a whole, it amounts to vindication of the bilingual system for the fact that a system which, being so badly and so stingily administered by government, could do so well under handicaps that never ought to have been imposed upon it, does, in itself, prove that that system is inherently sound.

Yet, the Ontario authorities decided to abolish the system entirely. At this point I shall be reminded, no doubt, that there is still left in the now famous one hour a day clause.

Now I find it difficult to sit down and to write seriously about that one hour-a-day. Pardon me, one hour-a-day in a school room. Let us be accurate, and look at it in all its beauty. I have an average sense of humour; and I have some difficulties in repressing it, at this point in the discussion. It is, however, no laughing matter.

It is a cruel jest indeed to say that any language can preserve its existence under such a restriction, if that restriction is to endure permanently. The one-hour-a-day in each school room clause is fully as narrow and as killing, as the proposition put recently by a journalist in Ontario:

"You have the right to preserve your language in your home and amongst yourselves, but it has no place in the schools." In other words, we know, being of average intelligence, that a language cannot be preserved for future use, as we preserve fruit; that it cannot be put up in air-tight cans and opened one can at the time. We know that language is a living thing; that when its blood ceases to circulate properly it dies or degenerates. We know also that the right to keep and to speak a language must necessarily include the right to be educated in it;

that the right to use it is a hollow mockery and a sham, if you may not learn it grammatically, and if you must use it only as you might use Latin or Greek, occasionally and for special purposes. We know that there must be a place in the schools for any language which has a right to live in this country. But, for all that, take you, and keep you, your French language, to yourselves. Speak it at home, at your work; but we shall see to it that your children shall never learn in an Ontario school whether your language has four conjugations or three; whether all its verbs are regular, or whether some of them are irregular; and shall be entirely dependent on the memories of their parents for even the rules of grammar and the principles of composition, to say nothing of the thousand and one things that keep a language from degenerating into a patois.

Is this the generosity of Ontario? Is this the British play of Ontario? Is this Ontario's conception of the broad views on which the Canadian Confederation was founded? Is this Ontario's answer to the scrupulous exactness with which Quebec has held to the broad spirit of Confederation? For even the most partisan opponent of bilingual schools shrinks from even hinting that in the French speaking province, the fathers and the brothers of the present French residents of Ontario, have not pursued a broad and generous policy at all times. Ontario does not need to look to South-Africa for precedents of fair, and generous, and strictly just, dealing with the language of a minority. The precedents are right beside her, in Quebec.

I have said that Ontario has made herself an exception to the whole trend of modern education service and modern statesmanship, within the Empire. There is no use in mincing matters. Ontario is exactly a century behind all the rest of the Empire. Bilingualism is to-day an acknowledged educational principle in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, United South Africa, Malta and India. The policy of Ontario in the 20th century, as exemplified in Regulation 17, is none other than the policy of Irish schools in the eighteenth century; a policy abandoned long ago; a policy so completely abandoned that Irish Gaelic is to-day taught in 5,000 out of 8,000 common schools in Ireland; is a compulsory subject for matriculation and graduation at the National University; and is taught in fourteen Summer colleges which teach nothing else.

Scotland—There are a quarter of a million people who still speak the Scottish Gaelic (Statesman's year book 1911). There the best minds in the country are deliberately extending it by means of local Gaelic associations, the dear old tongue back into the Common Schools of Highlands. Take up any Scottish paper you will; you cannot miss seeing an account of some of these gatherings; you can read in it, if you are so lucky as to know how, surging Gaelic speeches from peers, ministers of religion, professional men, merchants, and others all engaged in an ever extending campaign of bilingualism in the Public Schools.

South Africa! this a recent story. The English and Dutch languages have been placed on a footing of absolute equality in all four provinces of the Union. *And the choice of English or Dutch, as sole medium of instruction, has been placed absolutely in the hands of the parents.* (See the report already referred to). Further information about bilingualism throughout the Empire may be found in that report. By the way Ontario had no representative at the conference, may one ask, why not?

Lastly, Sir, let me say a word as to the result to be expected from such laws or regulations as regulation 17.

Perfect and absolute futility has ever marked all attempts to fuse nationalities by law. Assuming that the fusion is desirable — the whole Empire is my proof that it is not essential — but assuming that it is desirable, compulsory legislation can never bring it about. Coercive legislation, looked to be futile by centuries of experience, and by the experience of centuries in which coercive legislation was much more formidable than it is to-day or can ever be again. To the truth of my statement I call Poland as a witness.

Not the compulsion of one powerful majority, but the compulsion of several overwhelming majorities, has been exerted there for a hundred and twenty years. With what results? They found a couple of million Poles speaking Polish; and they forbade it. To-day, sixteen millions in the world speak Polish; and Poland, we are told, is about to receive self-government.

I call Ireland as a witness; and the attempted compulsory change goes back to the thirteenth century. And 700,000 Irishmen still speak Irish in Ireland; and hundreds of thousands of them speak it in England.

I have already cited Wales's testimony.

I call Scotland. In vain the suppression of clan names; in vain the fiercest attacks on the clan system. In vain the banishment of Gaelic from the schools. The Highlander is the Highlander still, Nor has the Lowland Scott become an Englishman.

No, it will not do. Ontario must, soon or later, come into line. Coercion was once a formidable policy. To-day it is a mere matter of temporary obstruction. There is a force of development in the science of government which will destroy coercion in Ontario as it has destroyed it on the other side of the Atlantic.

The "Little Englanders" were doomed long before Kipling turned his satires upon them. But, for centuries, our honest, bluff John Bull, did really expect Irishmen and Scots, and any others who came under his rule to become Englishmen. He finds to-day that they have not; and he tells them to go on being what they like so long as they do their duty in his Empire.

For, John Bull has at length come to see that a fusion of races must be an affair of give and take, and, being fully determined himself to give up not one inch of his English na-

tionality, he has cheerfully agreed at last that no more than he, can any other man be expected to give up his nationality.

And, a great many old theories about nationalities bid fair to go to smash under the pressure of new ideas started by the war now raging. This is the day of smaller nationalities and weaker races.

One last witness: Belgium. Always a bilingual country. The number of people who speak the two languages is a small fraction of the population. Yet, we have not seen any signs of decay; any signs of inefficiency.

Ontario statemanship must broaden out. The great lessons of national and imperial experience must be listened to, if Ontario would be, what she surely would like to be, the equal of any British Dominion.

Yours truly,

ROBERT F. PHALEN.

## **An Empire Loyalist's Voice**

*We reproduce here both the resolution moved by Mr. Bullock in the Quebec Legislature, on the bi-lingual school question, and the speech he delivered on that occasion. The motion was unanimously carried.*

*Let us note the fact that Mr. Bullock, Liberal member for Shefford, is a Protestant, descendant of the Empire Loyalists, a product of the bi-lingual school and father of children who are actually attending schools where the English and French languages are taught.*

### **The Motion**

Mr. Bullock moved and it was resolved that this House, without derogating from the principles of provincial autonomy, and without any intention of advising or interfering with any of the Provinces of Confederation in any manner whatsoever, views with regret the divisions which seem to exist among the people of the Province of Ontario over the bi-lingual school question, and believes that it is in the interests of the Dominion at large that all such questions should be considered on broad, generous and patriotic lines, always remembering that one of the cardinal principles of British liberty throughout the Empire is regard for the rights and privileges of minorities. (*Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Quebec, January, 13th, 1915*).

### **Shefford Member's Plea**

(*Reproduced from The Montreal Daily Herald, January 14th 1915*)

Mr. W. S. Bullock, Liberal member for Shefford, who moved the resolution, said that he did it as a descendant of the Empire Loyalists, who left their homes on the New England States in order to remain under the British flag. He spoke as a



representative of the English-speaking minority, and was himself a product of the bi-lingual schools. He said too that he spoke as a father whose children at this moment were attending the bi-lingual schools. Mr. Bullock pointed out that the Dominion of Canada, like other nations had not been spared vexatious questions of race and religion, but took great pride in the fact that Great Britain had always sought to give the greatest measure of autonomy to conquered races. He instanced the case of the Union of South Africa, and said that it was important that each nation within the Empire should maintain its own individuality.

He recalled that about a hundred years ago, Britain was fighting the French under Napoleon, but to-day it was fighting with them against military oppression.

"While these two great nations are fighting for liberty and are joined together in harmony", he declared, "there should be nothing in this country that should disturb the peace and harmony among the two peoples here."

### **Urges their Moral Rights**

He refused to enter into a discussion upon the position of the French-Canadians of Ontario, and contented himself with saying that as they had fought side by side with the early settlers in Canada to conquer the Indians, and had suffered side by side with the English-speaking settlers, they had now a moral right, to say nothing of the legal and constitutional right, to live here and have the privileges that are extended to all British subjects of speaking their own mother tongue.

"I want the people of Ontario to be informed", he declared, "that this motion is not intended in a spirit of aggression. We do not wish to take away from Ontario the right that belongs to every province, and that is the right of controlling their own educational affairs. The only thing we want to say is that we regret there is trouble, and we hope that a friendly settlement may soon be brought about on broad national lines, based upon the recognized rights by the British Empire of Minorities throughout the world."

### **Mr. Bullock's Address**

"In the legislative halls of this province", said Mr. Bullock, "there have been times when there were divergencies of opinion, and there have been times when the unanimity of opinion seemed to pervade over the members of this House. The latter was the condition of affairs in this chamber last Monday evening, when we were all pleased to note that after defending the policy of his Government, the Prime Minister closed his remarks by referring to the question of the bilingual schools in the Province of Ontario. Amongst some of the members it was felt that possibly after the magnificent words of the Prime Minister nothing more need be said upon the question, but among other



members there was a feeling that this House should have an opportunity of expressing itself upon that important issue. It is for that reason that I rise to present my motion.

"All the conquering nations of the world have had to deal with vexatious questions", continued Mr. Bullock. "They have had to deal more or less with questions of nationality, with questions of language, and questions of minority. The young Dominion of Canada has not been spared these serious difficulties, from the beginning to the present time. We are glad to note, however, that among the wise nations of the world, especially the great conquering nations, they have sought to give a large amount of autonomy to the conquered nations, and at the same time, they have sought as much as possible to give freedom of language. We all know that in 1902, at the close of the Boer war, with what wisdom the British Government showed the world they could do with the Boers, with whom they had just had a bloody war, in leaving them practically free as regards their tongue and their institutions. (Applause).

"As a result the Union of South Africa has been most loyal, with very few exceptions, up to the present time. The world was also pleased to read a few months ago that the Russian Empire had at last seen fit to use the same methods towards Poland, and as time goes on the people of the world recognize that it is more and more important that each nation should maintain its individuality and its own language."

### One of Many Problems

Mr. Bullock continued:—"I said a few moments ago that Canada has not been exempt from the difficulties of language, but we are pleased to note that most of these struggles were supposed to have ended around the table of Confederation, and that since that time we have had no reason, or at least little reason, to raise again the great controversial questions of language and race. If I were the possessor of the thousands of barrels of oil which now are in the possession of the Standard Oil Company, I would willingly pour the whole of them upon the troubled waters, to still the tempest that might arise. About one hundred years ago, a great battle was taking place upon the plains of Belgium. This battle was between the French on one side, and an allied army on the other, composed of the English and Prussians, with their allies. These people fought sternly with the object of crushing the greatest French general the world has ever seen, Napoleon. They succeeded; the face of Europe was changed, but while this was going on in Europe, what was taking place in Canada? About the same time that this great European war was going on between the French and the English over the seas, the French and the English people in Canada were here joining hand in hand in order to face the American enemy who had met them upon the international border and as a result of the French and English people in this

country acting together as one man, in spite of the fact that their cousins in Europe were engaged in bitter bloodshed, we to-day in Canada are able to celebrate the hundred years of peace." (Cheers.)

### **Foes Once but Allies Now**

"One hundred years have come and gone since then, and to-day the greatest battle in history is raging, but conditions have changed. Instead of seeing the Germans and the English working together to destroy the French, we see the English and the French fighting side by side for the great principles of civilization, and for the downfall of militarism in Europe. (Applause.) What has brought about this change? I believe that one name above all others might be cited because he has contributed more than anyone else to the consolidation of the English and the French peoples, and I refer to our late King Edward VII, whose statue now stands in this assembly. (Applause). He had recognized the principles which underlay the French Republic and he also knew the principles on which the British Empire was founded, and he, bringing the two nations together, showed once again the wisdom in the old proverb which says, "Union is strength."

### **Should be Peace at Home**

"While the Mother Countries of the two great nations which compose the Dominion of Canada to-day are engaged in war, we in Canada are gladly doing our part. We have been proud to notice how during the last two months, large contingents of young Canadians have left their homes and their families to go across the seas to do their duty. We have been glad too to see among the Canadian soldiers who left our soldiers a large proportionate number of French-Canadians were amongst them. It seems to me then, that while the representatives of Britain and France are fighting to-day in Europe, there should be nothing in this country that should disturb in any way the peace and harmony of the two peoples here. We have battles to fight in this country. Our warfare may not be similar to the warfare that is now being waged in Europe, but at the same time a great responsibility rests upon us. We have great natural resources which will make Canada a great and powerful nation, and for the development of these resources we need the harmonizing work of the different elements which compose the Canadian nation to-day, and while our sons are fighting the Empire's battles across the seas, we should do all that is possible to keep this continent at peace and the people at harmony with each other.

"I do not propose this afternoon to enter upon a discussion of the rights of the French-Canadians in the Dominion of Canada, rights which were granted by Confederation, and I do not propose to enter into a discussion upon the position of the

French-Canadians in Ontario, but there is one thing I can safely say, and that is that the French people of Ontario and of Canada have certain moral rights. It has often been said that the shedding of blood is the greatest manifestation of love and heroism and of sacrifice. That being the case, let us recall how the first French-Canadians who inhabited this country sacrificed themselves as they went along the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa rivers, and faced the Indians and gave their lives with their English fellow-settlers in facing and subduing the Indians. This fact alone seems to me should have been a forerunner to the laying of the foundations of this great country. Having met the savages in the forest and subdued them, and having won wonderful victories; that alone should have given our French-Canadian citizens at least the moral right, to say nothing of the legal and constitutional right, to live here and have the privileges that are granted to all British subjects of learning and speaking their mother-tongue.

### Merely Friendly Suggestion

Mr. Bullock concluded amid applause:—"I wish to ask the press of the province of Quebec, to tell our friends in Ontario that the motion which I am about to put before this House is not intended in any spirit of aggression. We do not wish to dictate to Ontario — (hear, hear)—we do not wish to take away from the province of Ontario or from any province of the Dominion, what is every province's right and that is to control their own educational affairs. The only thing we want to say is this, that we regret there is trouble, we regret there is likely to be some misunderstanding, and we hope that a friendly settlement may soon be brought about on broad national lines, based upon the recognized rights by the British Empire of minorities throughout the world. (Cheers.)

"And speaking in my own name personally as a descendant of that noble band of Empire Loyalists, who left their homes in the New England States in order to remain under the British flag, and who came and united their lot in the province of Quebec, with the French-Canadians of this province, speaking in this House as a representative of the Protestant minority in the province de Quebec, and speaking in this House as a child of the bi-lingual school, and as a father of children who at this moment are attending bi-lingual schools, I simply wish to say to our friends in Ontario: "Remember in all your legislation the greatest word that ever fell from the lips of the great head of the Christian Church—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them"—for this is the law, the spirit of all true law, the spirit of the law of the British Empire and the spirit of the law of the Dominion of Canada." (Loud and continued applause.)

## A Protestant Conservative's Testimony

*The following address was intended to be delivered by Mr. Campbell, Conservative member for Pontiac, in support of Mr. Armand Lavergne's motion. Mr. Campbell is also of Protestant faith. This speech was printed in Le Devoir of January the 23rd 1915, with the author's permission.*

### MR. CAMPBELL'S SPEECH

Mr. Speaker,

I followed very closely and with great pleasure the remarks made last week by the Honorable the Prime Minister, on the subject of the French language and French Canadian rights in the Province of Ontario. I must say, however, while agreeing with the Premier, I feel confident that it was the announcement that this matter was to be discussed by the Hon. Member for Montmagny that urged the leader of the Government to take the stand he has taken. But no matter from what source it comes or what party takes the action, I can only express my entire sympathy with my fellow citizens of French origin in the neighboring Province.

I happen, Sir, to represent a county in the Province of Quebec and to reside in the City of Ottawa, to have extensive business relations with the inhabitants of both Provinces and to be in constant contact across the border line with the two elements. I, therefore, consider it is my duty to add my little mite to the debate that has been raised in this Legislature.

In the first place I wish to heartily and sincerely bear witness, from my personal knowledge and experience, to the broad-mindedness and highly patriotic spirit of both the Hon. Member for Montmagny (Mr. Lavergne) and for the former member for St. Hyacinthe, Mr. Bourassa. In my own Province of Ontario these gentlemen are painted in colors that only the pencil of ignorance—I mean ignorance of their characters and motives—could draw. They are as tolerant as are all the Majority of this Province to the English speaking and Protestant minority. I am a living example of that tolerance; I am so in my political life, since I represent a constituency so largely composed of Roman Catholics and French Canadians; and my colleague in the Federal House, like myself, is not of their race nor of their Faith; I am so in my business life, because my dealings have been principally with them and I have found them a people of very high character and of extreme toleration—even amongst the less educated of them. Hence my desire to join in the tribute paid by my friend, Mr. Bullock, the other day, to the fair play

and justice dealt out to us in this Province by the French and Catholic majority.

Mr. Speaker, since hearing the Premier and reading the report of the speech made during my absence last week by the Hon. Member for Montmagny, I have read also the comments of extreme and bigoted organs in Toronto on the subject. Their harsh expressions and still harsher conclusions are not justified in any way—neither by the facts as we know them here nor by the spirit of the constitution as all broad-minded men understand it. All I would ask would be that Ontario would give to the minority there the same treatment that the minority in Quebec, of which I am one, receives. If you want to see an example of the difference in treatment, come to my county of Pontiac; on the Quebec side of the Ottawa river you hear no bickerings and no animosities, no worries about schools and the education of children; cross the river into Ontario and at once you step into a hot-bed of turmoil and disunion. This latter condition is neither, in my mind, according to the broad principles of Christianity nor according to the "fair play" that is a mark of British rule and Canadian citizenship.

It is not for me to go into the details of the question at issue in Ontario regarding the French language and the system of education, but I will say that it never was the desire nor aim of the French Canadians in that Province to impose their language in place of English, nor to make it official to the exclusion of English; all they ask is the natural right to teach it to their children so as to preserve that great means of a double instruction and a more perfect education and at the same time not to lose entirely the traditions and memories of their race. If this is not a fair and praiseworthy ambition, then there is no such a thing under our constitution. They are not an aggressive people, nor a quarrelsome people, nor a fanatical people. They ask only to go their way in peace, building up, with their own means their share of the country's prosperity, without taking one whit from the interests and rights of their neighbors. I speak from knowledge and long experience of them; all those in Ontario who think the contrary and act in accordance, speak and act in complete ignorance of this people, of their ways, customs, manners and aims.

I, therefore, Mr. Speaker, wish to join my humble voice in this touching plea for justice and fairness to my Catholic and French friends in Ontario.

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## An Authoritative Opinion

*The letter which follows is from the late Honorable P. S. G. MacKenzie, who at the moment of his recent and sudden death, was still the Provincial Treasurer of the Quebec Government. It was made public, in Le Devoir, on the 9th of January, 1915. Mr. MacKenzie was also a Protestant, and a member of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction.*

### Mr. MacKENZIE'S LETTER

Quebec, 5th December, 1912.

Henri Bourassa, Esq.,

*Le Devoir* Publishing Co.,

Montreal.

Dear Mr. Bourassa,—

I have your letter of the 11th October, with the accompanying regulations of the Department of Education of Ontario.

I must apologize to you for the delay that has transpired in answering your letter. It arrived when I was abroad and as it was addressed to Richmond, a considerable delay elapsed before it reached me, and then the work of the Session came on, and I was not able to give the question submitted the study which it required. These regulations were quite new to me, and I was not familiar with the controversy that had arisen in connection therewith.

I am writing you this letter privately, and I will explain my reason, which I am sure will commend itself to you. I am a member of our Provincial Cabinet, and it would seem unusual, as such, to publicly criticise the administrative acts of the Government of a neighboring Province. With this understanding, I have no objection to stating to you my views. You may, however, make such use of them as you deem advisable without disclosing my quality.

I am fully convinced that the new Regulations of the Department of Education in Ontario are contrary to the intent, meaning and spirit of the provisions regarding education contained in the British North America Act, which has always been regarded as the educational settlement.

The requirement that after the first year, French speaking pupils must take the ordinary school subjects in the English language, seems to me severe and unjust. One does not need to be a practical educator to see that satisfactory results in the way of true education cannot be obtained from such a system.

The rights and privileges of minorities were very amply considered by the fathers of Confederation, as one may see by reference to the debates of 1865, and the clauses in the British North America Act, viz: Sub-Section, 1, and Sub-Section 3, of

Section 93, regarding these rights and privileges, should be loyally respected and observed.

The freedom of the English minority in the Province of Quebec in regard to its language and its schools has never been restricted by the French majority. In fact the Legislature has given to the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, the power to control the organization of Protestant Schools, to prescribe text books and courses of study and generally to be independent of the majority in scholastic matters.

I trust and hope that a settlement of the question in our sister Province may finally be made in accordance with the same spirit of justice and right feeling, and according to the true intent and meaning of the educational provisions of the British North America Act.

Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

P. S. G. MacKENZIE.







## **REQUEST TO THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT**

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**Montreal, March 1st, 1915.**

**The undersigned, having read and discussed the Ontario Separate School Act and Rule 17, has come to the conclusion that the request made by the interested parties, asking for the amendment of this law in such a way that British Fair-Play should be given and not only spoken of, is just and fair and should be granted accordingly.**

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